

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJECT: CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY DIRECTORATE CONFRONTS

PROBLEM OF RELATIONS WITH COMMUNISTS IN LOCAL

GOVERNMENTS

REF: ROME 11100(NOTAL)

SUMMARY: CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY DIRECTORATE AUGUST 6

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UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED REPORT OF NEW DC SERCTARY ZACCAGNINI ON

FUTURE COURSE OF PARTY AND ON RECOMMENDED DC ATTITUDE TOWARDS COMMUNIST PARTY (PCI) AT LOCAL GOVERNMENT LEVEL. WHILE ZACCAGNINI MAINTAINED EXISTING BAN ON DC PARTICIPATION WITH THE PCI IN LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, HE CALLED FOR DIALOGUE WITH COMMUNISTS IN ELABORATION OF LOCAL LEGISLATIVE PROGRAMS. DC DIRECTORATE REPRESENTS FIRST STEP TOWARDS REUNIFYING PARTY AND DEVELOPING BINDING POLICY TO FACE RAPID SPREAD OF LEFTIST LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS. IT MARKS FORMAL REJECTION OF HOSTILE CONFRONTATION WITH PCI AT LOCAL LEVEL AND PAVES WAY FOR DC ACCEPTANCE OF LOCAL CENTER-LEFT ADMINISTRATIONS OPEN TO INSTITUTIONALIZED PCI INPUT ON THE LEGISLATIVE FRONT. ALTHOUGH OPEN DC-PCI DIALOGUE LIMITED TO LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS, ISSUE OF TRANSFERENCE OF THIS RELATIONSHIP TO THE NATIONAL LEVEL WILL INEVITABLY BE ONE OF MAJOR POLITICAL ISSUES FOR THE FUTURE. END SUMMARY.

1. CHRISTINA DEMOCRATIC PARTY DIRECTORATE MET AUGUST 6 AND UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED REPORT OF NEW PARTY SECRETARY ZACCAGNINI. MOST URGENT ISSUE FACED BY ZACCAGNINI CONCERNED THE ATTITUDE TO BE ADOPTED BY THE DC IN DEALING WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY AT THE LOCAL LEVEL IN THE WAKE OF DRAMATIC PCI GAINS IN THE JUNE 15 REGIONAL ELECTIONS. ISSUE HAS COME TO A HEAD AS A RESULT OF THE PROLIFERATION OF LEFTIST (SOCIALIST-COMMUNIST) LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, EVEN WHERE CENTER-LEFT (DC, SOCIALIST, SOCIAL DEMOCRAT, REPUBLICAN) MAJORITIES WERE POSSIBLE, AND SOCIALIST INSISTENCE THAT NON-LEFTIST ADMINISTRATIONS DROP ANY FORM OF "DISCRIMINATION" AGAINST PCI COLLABORATION.

2. WHILE MANY LOCAL GOVERNMENTS HAVE YET TO BE AGREED UPON, THERE ARE ALREADY FIVE REGIONS, 29 (OUT OF 94) PROVINCES AND 30 PROVINCIAL CAPITALS WHICH EITHER HAVE OR ARE NOW EXPECTED TO GET LEFTIST "GIUNTAS". THIS REPRESENTS AN INCREASE SO FAR OF TWO "RED" REGIONS, 10 PROVINCES AND 7 PROVINCIAL CAPITALS, MOST OF WHICH PREVIOUSLY HAD CENTER-LEFT ADMINISTRATIONS. THE TWO NEW LEFTIST REGIONS INCLUDE LIGURIA AND PIEDMONT. PCI-SOCIALIST ADMINISTRATIONS CONTROL ALL OF THE LARGEST (POP. OVER 300,000) CITIES NORTH OF ROME (FLORENCE, BOLOGNA, GENOA, TURIN, MILAN AND VENICE). IN A NUMBER OF SMALLER CITIES AND IN MILAN, COSENZA AND CREMONA, LEFTIST ADMINISTRATIONS HAVE BEEN MADE POSSIBLE BY DEFECTIONS FROM

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SOCIAL DEMOCRAT (PSDI), REPUBLICAN (PRI), AND (IN MILAN) DC RANKS.

3. IN ADDITION TO THE PROLIFERATION OF LEFTIST "GIUNTAS", NEGOTIATIONS IN A NUMBER OF AREAS HAVE PRODUCED AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TRADITIONAL CENTER-LEFT PARTIES AND THE PCI ON LEGISLATIVE PROGRAMS AND THE ELECTION OF PCI REPRESENTATIVES AS PRESIDENT OR VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL LEGISLATURE. THUS

FAR, THE LOCAL CENTER-LEFT PARTIES, INCLUDING THE DC, HAVE AGREED TO AN OPEN DIALOGUE WITH THE PCI ON LEGISLATIVE PROGRAMS IN THE LOMBARDY, MARCHE, LAZIO(ROME), CALABRIA AND BASILICATA REGIONS. THE SAME MORE "OPEN" RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PCI IS ALSO BEING ESTABLISHED IN A NUMBER OF CITIES AND PROVINCES.

4. IN RESPONSE TO THE DETERIORATING SITUATION AT THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT LEVEL, ZACCAGNINI CALLED FOR THE DC TO MAINTAIN A CLEAR DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE MAJORITY AND OPPOSITION AND AND TO REFRAIN FROM ENTERING LOCAL GOVERNMENTS WITH THE PCI. IN THOSE CASES WHERE NO "HOMOGENEOUS" MAJORITY INCLUDING THE DC IS POSSIBLE, THE NEW PARTY SECRETARY URGED THE DC TO ACT AS A CONSTRUCTIVE OPPOSITION.

5. ZACCAGNINI REJECTED THE HYPOTHESIS OF A FRONTAL POLITICAL CONFRONTATION WITH THE PCI AS BEING DANGEROUS FOR ITALIAN DEMOCRACY. INSTEAD, HE INVOKED THE NEED TO RESPOND TO THE "NEW REALITY" OF THE POST JUNE 15 SCENE BY REALIZING A PERIOD OF "OPEN COMPETITION" AMONG THE CHRISTIAN, ALY AND MARXIST POLITICAL FORCES WHICH SHARED IN THE RESISTANCE AND (SUPPORT) THE VALUES OF THE ITALIAN CONSTITUTION. IN THE CASE OF LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS, THIS COMPETITION SHOULD TAKE THE FORM OF AN OPEN COMPARISON ("CONFRONTO") OF IDEAS IN THE ELABORATION OF LEGISLATIVE PROGRAMS WITHOUT CONFUSING THE ROLES OF THE MAJORITY, WHICH IMPLEMENTS PROGRAMS, AND THE OPPOSITION WHICH SHOULD EXERCISE A CONTROL FUNCTION.

6. IN HIS COMMENTS ON THE FUTURE OF THE DC, ZACCAGNINI EXHORTED THE PARTY TO UNITE IN PREPARING FOR THE PARTY CONGRESS. THE DC, HE SAID, MUST TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE PROFOUNDLY ALTERED POLITICAL SITUATION FOLLOWING THE JUNE 15 ELECTIONS AND PREPARE ITSELF TO MEET THE DEMANDS OF A SOCIETY IN THE PROCESS OF RAPID CHANGE. ZACCAGNINI WAS FORCED TO BACK AWAY FROM HIS PLAN

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TO SET UP A NEW COLLEGIAL LEADERSHIP (REFTEL) BY OPPOSITION FROM THE POWERFUL "DOROTEO" FACTION. INSTEAD, HE SUCCESSFULLY URGED THE PRESENT DIRECTORATE TO REMAIN IN PLACE, AT LEAST UNTIL FALL. AT THE SAME TIME, ZACCAGNINI HAS FORMED A "WORKING GROUP" TO ASSIST HIM COMPOSED OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE DC'S TWO LEFT WING FACTIONS (BODRATO AND GALLONI) AND FROM HIS OWN "MOROTEO" FACTION (BELCI). THE TASK OF THIS GROUP, WHICH WILL WORK THROUGH THE SUMMER, WILL BE TO ASSIST ZACCAGNINI IN FORMULATING PROPOSALS FOR PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL REFORM TO BE PRESENTED TO THE LEADERSHIP IN SEPTEMBER. THE FACT THAT BODRATO AND GALLONI WERE AMONG THE FIERCEST CRITICS OF FORMER SECRETARY FANFANI SUGGESTS THE DEGREE TO WHICH ZACCAGNINI REPRESENTS A NEW POLICY LINE FOR THE DC PARTY.

7. CONSISTENT WITH HIS DESIRE TO WORK FOR A RAPPROCHMENT

WITH THE SOCIALISTS AFTER THE SUMMER RECESS, ZACCAGNINI ONLY GENTLY CHIDED THE PSI FOR ITS CLOSER RELATIONSHIP WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY AT THE LOCAL AND NATIONAL LEVEL. IN ADDITION, HE MADE CLEAR THAT THE CHOICE OF GOVERNMENT PARTNERS IN LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS WAS A MATTER FOR THE PARTIES AND SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO CREATE DIFFICULTIES FOR THE MORO-LAMALFA NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

8. COMMENT: ZACCAGNINI'S DEBUT AS PARTY SECRETARY WAS WELL RECEIVED BY THE VARIOUS DC FACTIONS, BY THE OTHER CENTER-LEFT PARTIES AND BY THE PCI. WHILE UNSUCCESSFUL IN HIS EFFORTS TO PUT TOGETHER A NEW UNITARY LEADERSHIP AT THIS TIME, THE FACT THAT ALL MEMBERS OF THE DC DIRECTORATE AGREED TO RESUME THEIR POSTS (VACATED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF SEVERAL FACTIONS IN THEIR WINNING CAMPAIGN TO OUST FANFANI) PUTS AN END TO THE OPEN BLOODLETTING WHICH CHARACTERIZED THE RECENT NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING. THE DC LEADERS NOW CAN HEAD FOR THEIR VACATION RETREATS TO GAIN STRENGTH FOR THE PREDICTED HOT POLITICAL AUTUMN. THE MOST IMPORTANT RESULT OF THE COUNCIL MEETING IS THE ENUNCIATION OF A POLICY ON DC-COMMUNIST PARTY RELATIONS WHICH SIGNALS A MODERATE TURN TO THE LEFT BY THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS IN THE WAKE OF THE DISASTROUS JUNE 15 ELECTION RESULTS AND THE SUBSEQUENT REMOVAL OF FANFANI AS PARTY SECRETARY. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER THE NEW INSTITUTIONALIZED DIALOGUE WITH THE PCI ON LOCAL LEGISLATIVE PROGRAMS CAN BE KEPT IN HAND. THE FIRM-CONFIDENTIAL

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NESS OF THE DC NATIONAL LEADERSHIP, THE ATTITUDE OF LOCAL CADRES AND THE RELIABILITY OF THE DC'S MODERATE CENTER-LEFT PARTNERS WILL DETERMINE WHETHER IT IS A VIABLE FORMULA. THE QUESTION OF THE APPLICABILITY OF THIS NEW RELATIONSHIP AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL WILL INEVITABLY ARISE IN THE FALL WHEN THE FATE OF THE SHAKY MORO-LAMALFA GOVERNMENT COMES UNDER ACTIVE REVIEW. VOLPE

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